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# Social Trends

Midsummer Number

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## *Prayer*

By Louis Untermeyer.

God, although this life is but a wraith,  
Although we know not what we use,  
Although we blindly grope with little faith,  
Give me the heart to fight—and lose.

Ever insurgent let me be,  
Make me more daring than devout;  
From sleek contentment keep me free  
And fill me with a buoyant doubt.

Open my eyes to visions girt  
With beauty and with wonder lit,  
But let me always see the dirt  
And all that spawn and die in it.

Open my ears to music; let  
Me thrill with spring's first flutes and drums—  
But never let me dare forget  
The bitter ballads of the slums.

From compromise and things half done,  
Keep me with stern and stubborn pride,  
And when, at last, the fight is won,  
God, keep me still unsatisfied.



"You can't build stone houses with wages." Arab proverb.



"The good life is one inspired by love and guided by knowledge." Bertrand Russell.



"A wild cat in your room is more dangerous than a lion in the desert." Arabian proverb.

# SOCIAL TRENDS

*A Digest of Useful Information on Current  
Social Events and Problems*

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## *Prohibition and the Presidency*

The presidential campaign starts as one of personalities more than one of issues. Whether the next president is Smith or Hoover we are assured of ability, honesty and practical statesmanship. Aside from prohibition neither has as yet committed himself on the great issues of the day. The personal record of each gives confidence in his independence, high-mindedness, and devotion to the public weal. Whichever is elected, things will be interesting. Hoover will remind us of the days of Cleveland; Smith of those of Roosevelt. Because he is of the executive temperament, Hoover will perhaps soon be at loggerheads with congress; because he is a practical statesman of the political type, Smith will perhaps work amiably with congress. Hoover will do things administratively; Smith will do things legislatively. Hoover has practically no political experience, his cabinet office having been more one of business than politics. Smith, like Coolidge, has always been in office, and he has a great record of accomplishment even with the legislature in the hands of the opposition. If you want a strong executive government you will take Hoover; if you want a strong legislative government you will take Smith.

## RELIGION AND MORALS

Smith is a Catholic; Hoover is a Quaker. Prejudice will favor both. Smith will probably get the solid Catholic vote; Hoover will get the Ku Klux vote. If

Smith accepted the ecclesiastical Catholic viewpoint on state and church, no intelligent Protestant would vote for him; if Hoover were a Ku Kluxer no American who puts toleration above religious and racial prejudice would vote for him. But Hoover is not a Ku Kluxer and Smith expressly declares that he does not accept the ecclesiastical Catholic viewpoint of church and state; in his cabinet at Albany are eleven Protestants, eight of whom are Masons; only two of them are Catholics. His most prejudiced critic has been unable to find a single instance of pro-Catholic action in his eight years as governor in a state with a great Catholic population. The religious issue should be ignored in the campaign; it is safe to say Mr. Hoover will deplore any attempt to use it. But the Catholic code of personal morals is much less stringent than is the Protestant. Smith takes an occasional drink; Hoover does not. Catholics do not frown on drinking; good Protestants do. Smith likes gayety; Hoover is puritan. Both are model family men. Smith is popular with the masses—Hoover with the cultured classes. Smith represents the city—Hoover the rural tradition.

#### SOCIAL

#### MORALS

Hoover is an individualist, a successful business man worth many millions, with a great record as an administrator of charity; Smith is a comparatively poor man, with the best record for social legislation of any modern American statesman. Big business will largely support Hoover, and he is, from the standpoint of the common weal, the best representative they possess; labor and the social workers will overwhelmingly support Smith, and he will not disappoint them if elected. Hoover will pilot a government favorable to big business but humanized with charity and due regard for the whole people; Smith will pilot a government favorable to labor and the common man but balanced with regard for the stable conduct of business enterprise; labor, the organized farmers and those opposed to "the super-power" interests favor him. But he fails to

recognize that national prohibition is the greatest of all social reforms. He is a radical opponent of the Volstead Law. Radical drys will oppose him though he represents them on every other issue; fanatical wets will support him though they oppose him on every other issue. He is more responsible for dragging the temperance issue into politics than any other factor in the campaign, but as president he cannot change a jot nor tittle of the law and he will, no doubt, enforce it as well as it has been enforced.

Mr. Hoover stood with Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt in pre-Volstead days in opposing national prohibition; Mr. Smith stands today where they stood then, i. e. for local option, and he declares explicitly against any return of the saloon. The best Hoover has said is to call prohibition a great social experiment. Both candidates and both platforms pledge law enforcement and both name the Eighteenth Amendment without mentioning the Volstead Law. Smith believes prohibition a failure in wet territory; Hoover has never said what he thinks about its success in wet areas, and the wet areas are the only issue. Smith expressly declares for prohibition where the drys are in a majority.

#### PROHIBITION AND PARTISAN POLITICS

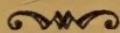
Prohibition was won through moral, non-partisan action; it will be lost if it is ever made a party issue. Smith vs. Hoover will not give us a national referendum simply because there are other issues which millions will regard as paramount to prohibition, and there are millions who will not forsake their party alignments for any issue, not even the prohibition question. The most deplorable thing would be an effort on the part of non-partisan temperance organizations to get the voters to ignore all other issues, unless Governor Smith insists on making it the paramount issue. That they will not do, and the campaign to induce them to do it will react to the hurt of both prohibition and the temperance organizations.

Prominent officials of the Association against Prohibition, such as President Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad, declare for Hoover because they put the interests of Big Business above prohibition; prominent social workers, like Mary Simkovitch and Miss Ovington, declare for Smith because they put his record on social legislation above his attitude on prohibition. The Democratic party is as dry as the Republican. Good drys believe Smith in the White House will enforce prohibition as well as Mellon in the Treasury office. Ardent wets prefer Mellonism in government to Smith's little "d" democracy. It is up to the independent voter to decide which is, to his mind, the paramount issue. Candidate Smith will himself decide it for most of those who believe prohibition to be the greatest of all social reforms. One platform offers the dry cause just as much as the other. One candidate frankly advocates modification for local areas where the majority is against prohibition, and is personally on the wet side; the other regards national prohibition as a great social experiment, and is personally on the dry side. Either will, as president, enforce the law and neither can, as president, change the law.

The difference is the moral difference between the influence of a mild dry and a frank modificationist. Hoover stands where Coolidge stood and there is good reason to expect that he will, if elected, continue Mr. Mellon, the ex-distiller, as head of the cabinet department having charge of enforcement. Smith stands where both Roosevelt and Wilson stood in his opposition to federal prohibition and in favor of local option. Harding drank while in the White House, and those who seem now inclined to make that an issue in Smith's case never made it an issue in Harding's case. For temperance organizations to attempt to line up the dry forces in any partisan manner, when both party platforms are dry, is to court failure. For any dry leader to attempt to influence votes without reference to party is commendable. The deplorable error is that of dragging the issue into politics; for that Governor

Smith is more responsible than the drys, and he cannot complain if he begets the opposition of most of them.

Many good drys like Smith's record on social questions better than Hoover's, and prefer a man of the people to a man of millions. They dislike Tammany Hall but find no recompense in Hoover's unprotesting partnership in the corrupt Harding administration. If the Republicans cartoon the Tammany tiger on the White House steps, the Democrats will cartoon Teapot Dome above its roof; the dis-honors will be even. Protestant prejudice will favor a Quaker over a Catholic but a sense of tolerance forbids black-marking any man because of his religion. The farmer and the wage earner fared better at Houston; the prohibitionist fared better at Kansas City; the idealist fared poorly at both places. Both old parties are hopeless as moral organizations. If prohibition is made the paramount issue it should be Hoover; if other social issues are paramount it should be Smith. We hoped the Republican farmers of the West and the dry Democrats of the South would combine to give us a new party that would do for our day what the parties of Jefferson and Lincoln did for their day, but they will not.



### *American Tories*

The small feminine group of modern American Tories who guide the destiny of the D. A. R. have excommunicated the leader of the little group who dared officially to protest the printing of a black-list which included such names as those of Jane Addams, Dean Roscoe Pound, William Allen White, and a list of other notables so long that those of us who found our names among them felt greatly honored. With amazing logic they excommunicated the protestants while at the same time denying responsibility for the blacklist. At a recent levy of the royal court at Buckingham Palace, Mrs. Brosseau, president of the D. A. R., was proud to tell that she was among the first to arrive and the

last to depart. These officials of the D. A. R. take much more pride in royal levies than in Jeffersonian democracy. Had they lived in Washington's time, with the same temper they show in our time, they would have been among the Tories who opposed him. Then as now they would have loved most to bask in the social favor of some princeling. Their effort to hang a little American snobocracy on their genealogical tree savors much more of old-world aristocracy than of new world democracy. In the 150 years that have passed since the founding of this republic, each one of us whose ancestry leads back to those days could find anywhere from thirty to forty grandfathers who had a chance to fight with the armies of the revolution. Most of us would be eligible genealogically, but we fervently hope few of us would be spiritually capable of accepting membership with any organization that sets itself up as a pink tea censor of such a list of worthy Americans as those included in the D. A. R. blacklist.

#### THE SILLY SECTION IN THE D. A. R.

When the D. A. R. puts men like Dean Roscoe Pound, of the Harvard law school, and William Allen White on their index as dangerous citizens, it is time to laugh them out of court without argument. It illustrates the highly obvious fact that because your great-great-grandfather was a soldier in the War of Independence you are not thereby qualified with the sense, let alone the right, to pronounce upon the soundness of the citizenship or the ideas of men and women who really do possess both. We wonder what many of these would-be American aristocrats, whose only qualification for the exclusive society to which they belong was determined by the wheel of genealogical fortune, would do if the particular ancestor to whom they trace their lineage should appear some day at their front door. He would perhaps be unshaven, wear a coon skin cap, baggy trousers and heavy leather boots, and mayhap be unable to write his name. Our guess is that they would invite him to the back door for a

hand-out. We commend to these rather hectic defenders of our sacred traditions the reading of the first amendment to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and submit that of all Americans these haughty "Daughters" who proscribe their betters are the least American in any comprehension of that fine Americanism which guarantees freedom of speech, of assembly and of the press. People who proscribe Jane Addams thereby make themselves unfit to loosen her shoestrings.

#### HOW THOMAS JEFFERSON WAS REVILED

We need not worry about the D. A. R. Their absurdities are their own undoing. But there are able folks who narrow their minds when their dogmas are questioned, and they menace liberty. Thomas Jefferson was the author of the Virginia Bill of Rights. Under his influence and that of others who believed with him, it was written in the Constitution that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." Under his influence it was written into the Bill of Rights, which was really submitted as a part of the Constitution itself, that freedom of religion, of speech, of the press, of assembly and petition should be guaranteed to the people of this free country. Within a short thirteen years after this was done, on the 4th day of July, 1800, President Timothy Dwight of Yale University made an address opposing the election of Jefferson to the presidency, in which he prophesied that if the author of the Declaration of Independence were elected the Bible would be cast into a bonfire and children would be taught to chant mockeries of divine things, that the wives and daughters of his hearers would be dishonored and their sons made over into French revolutionists. Yet it was this same Thomas Jefferson who in founding the mother of all state universities, the University of Virginia, made provision for the teaching of religion and demonstrated his own faith in the fundamental precepts of Jesus by publishing them as the elemental code of ethics for all people.

## *The Engineer's Glory; The Holding Company's Power*

Two volumes just off the press furnish the pro and con of the super-power issue. In *ALADDIN U. S. A.*, by Ernest Greenwood, (265 pages, Harper's, \$2.50) is a glowing account of the miracles accomplished in the modern use of electricity for light and power. Thomas Edison writes the introduction. He recalls that fourth of September, forty-six years ago, when "the first station in the world for the production and distribution of electric power" was opened, marking "the end of one epoch in civilized life and the beginning of another." The way in which electric power lifts the burdens from the back of the laborer, shortens the hours of his labor and increases his wage fund is a heartening story. Together with his description of the marvelous growth of electricity and its use, the author entwines a defense of private ownership and control. He describes the super-power, or hook-up system, the wide diffusion of stock ownership among consumers, and makes a good special pleader's case for the power company's service to the public as against that of public ownership. Herbert Hoover is quoted as highest authority in his defense of private ownership with public regulation as against public ownership.

The other side of the case is stated by *H. J. Rauschenbusch and Harry W. Laidler* in *POWER CONTROL* (298 pages, New Republic, Inc., \$1.00). The authors put the living spirit into the dry bones of statistics and make them walk like characters in a tale. If Mr. Greenwood has the great authority of Herbert Hoover for private ownership with public regulation, these authors quote Governor Smith as saying that a comparative study of the use of Niagara power on the Canadian side, publicly owned, and the New York side, privately owned, proves that the American people are paying about twice as much for their electricity under private ownership as do the Canadians under public ownership.

The authors describe the method of financing by

holding companies, through which water is turned into the treasury as well as into the turbines, and devote much space to a description of the "educational program" of the public utilities through advertising in newspapers, lectures by professors and politicians, and the skillful distribution of stock ownership in small allotments to small consumers, while management is safely kept in the hands of the great owners, who have skillfully adopted the reformers' creed that what you teach the children today the world tomorrow will do. A brilliant example of the mental attitude of certain public utility manipulators is given on pages 35 and 36, quoting the chairman of the Public Relations Section of the National Electric Light Association, who in a conference of his section made comments on Professors W. Z. Ripley's (of Harvard) criticisms on the financial practices of public utilities.

This worthy manipulator of public opinion on behalf of private and corporate interests said aenent Professor Ripley's criticism: "During the year there have been two outbursts in particular in economic journals which have rather stirred up some of the members of our association. These came from one of the institutions to which we are giving some financial support.

"The one suggestion I would offer is that the professor is most amenable to inspiration (apparently meaning financial inspiration). If we can be sure that we have got hold, with reference to our industry, of the will of Jehovah, perhaps we may also play the part of Jehovah in putting into the mouth of the particular Balaam whom we are asking to go forth, something of the truth which we have a right to expect to have prophesied."

These two volumes read well together. The advocates of the human interest factor in our rapidly mechanizing age will be more than glad to have them read together; he will wish moreover that a million copies of "POWER CONTROL" could be read by intelligent Americans before they forget the revelations the Federal Trades Commission is now making.

## *Modern Imperialism*

America is producing an enormous cash surplus. It goes into the hands of a comparatively small group who seek for it profitable investment. Our standards of living demand rubber, sugar, coffee, cocoa, hemp and other tropical products quite as much as they do corn, cotton, wheat and iron. It is inevitable that a part of this surplus will seek investment in the tropics where these commodities are produced and the Caribbean lands, being at our door and protected against Europeans by the Monroe Doctrine, have become our sphere for special interest and exploitation. First the investor makes the economic penetration; next the backward state of native society causes him trouble; then upon the theory that "the flag follows the dollar", he calls upon his government for protection.

The backward peoples cannot maintain undeveloped areas in a world that is becoming highly inter-dependent and where rising standards of living and increasing refinement in the use of commodities demand the products of the tropics. The question is will we adopt the old world method of economic imperialism and take political control in order to make economic penetration safe and profitable, or will we find a new formula more consistent with the American tradition of self government and the original intention of the Monroe Doctrine which was to protect rather than to exploit our neighbors to the south.

### HISTORY OF IMPERIALISM

Fundamental to any scholarly approach to the question is *Parker Moon's "IMPERIALISM AND WORLD POLITICS"* (583 pages, \$5.00, MacMillan), a scholarly history of modern imperialism, documented and authoritative, the story of that stream of world history which tells of imperial exploitations—a story of jungle ethics at the hands of supermen. The American adventure in this field since the Spanish-American War is not neglected. The author believes that in-

vestment in backward lands is inevitable but argues for a trusteeship on behalf of civilization, based on some such model as that offered by the mandate system of the League of Nations.

Two smaller volumes, more easily read because of a journalistic style, are "THE WHITE MAN'S DILEMMA", by Nathaniel Peffer (John Day Co., 312 pages, \$2.50) and Leonard Woolf's "IMPERIALISM AND CIVILIZATION" (182 pages, \$2.00, Harcourt, Brace & Howe). Both authors point out that the backward peoples, especially those of Asia, have learned the ways of western civilization through the penetration of western imperialism. As a result, says Woolf, we have the rise of a "crude nationalism and of the prejudices of race, religion and nationality" which replies to our assumption of superiority with assumptions of equal blindness. "The question now", says Peffer, "is not whether we should be more generous, but whether or not we will have to do under compulsion that which we distantly considered doing out of magnanimity but which, of course, we failed to do."

#### AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The Vanguard Press, whose growing list of useful treatises is published as an educational contribution rather than as a commercial venture, has issued the first three volumes of a series of studies in American imperialism, under the editorship of Harry Elmer Barnes. They are well made, easily read books of from two hundred to three hundred and forty pages and sell for \$1.00 per volume. Each is written by an expert on his particular subject.

The era characterized by American investment began with our intervention to emancipate Cuba. We kept our promise to make her politically free! Have we at the same time made her an economic satrapy? In "OUR CUBAN COLONY", Professor Leland H. Jenks tells the story of "how we have achieved control of her sugar, her tobacco, mines, railways and public utilities." In an interview in Havana, General Crow-

der, then our ambassador, said to the writer, "If you desire to help Cuba, find out whether or not rich and powerful Uncle Sam is living at her expense". We were convinced, as Professor Jenks is, that "we have given Cuba industry but we have not given her masses economic freedom", and we are abstracting vast profits without leaving behind the concomitant of human welfare.

Santo Domingo was selected for another study because it "is a representative sample of forceful intervention to protect American investors." In "*THE AMERICANS IN SANTO DOMINGO*", *Professor Melvin M. Knight* tells the story. Following the Civil War some American business men endeavored to get President Grant to annex the little country. After the Spanish-American War certain American arbitration commissioners "deliberately paved the way to a partial receivership", which resulted later in our taking over the government of the country, policing it with the Marines, and now the major portion of the productive enterprises of the land are managed by American capital. The author concludes by saying, "There is a danger that we may take the prosperity and leave her the posterity".

Bolivia was selected for the third study because first, it is a South American country, and secondly, American bankers and others have loaned there one hundred million dollars. A small fringe of whites manage the country's enterprises, exploiting the primitive, illiterate, submissive Indian masses. Eighty percent of the country's revenues have been pledged to public debts, and three-fourths of it comes to the United States. The main economic dependence lies in tin mines, and should new discoveries sharply reduce the price of tin, the whole politico-economic enterprise would crumble. The liberal party once threatened to cancel large obligations made by its predecessors; this brought sharp warning from our State Department. An American writer on the Monroe Doctrine says: "So another American Latin state, this time south of the equator,

slips its neck into the noose of American financial control." Would we attempt in South America what we have done in Central America should the miserable masses who are worked like serfs revolt and threaten these investments?

Another type of book is Professor T. H. Hamlin's "War Myth in United States History". In less than a hundred pages, he makes an analysis of the real causes as well as the reasons given for each of the great wars in American history. Written from the pacifist, no-war standpoint, it is clear, factual and without emotion—an invaluable stating of the other side of the case from that popularly given.

OCCUPIED HAITI, edited by *Emily Green Balch* (186 pages, The Writer's Publishing Co.), is a "report of a committee of six disinterested Americans representing organizations exclusively American who, having personally studied conditions in Haiti in 1926, favor the restoration of independence to the Negro republic." A personal study on the ground gains authority by the fact that Professor Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago, was chief inquirer for the committee. The conclusion is that "from the point of view of Haiti's interest it is not true that we are in Haiti solely as disinterested benefactors, nor that we can show clean hands in our business dealings there. If our officials have tried to benefit the people of Haiti (as we believe they have), it is also true that the occupation has cared for American financial interests there of a none too creditable sort at the expense of our poor and weak neighbors."

#### THE LOOTING OF NICARAGUA

By *Rafael DeNogales*. 304 pages. \$2.50. Robt. M. McBride & Co.

General Nogales is a Venezuelan. He was well acquainted with Nicaragua before the present situation arose, and has traveled widely studying present conditions in that unhappy land in preparation of this volume. His description of tropical scenes is very readable, and his analysis of the American occupation and of the political and revolutionary situation in the

country is colorful and highly informing. Even if partisan, it serves as an excellent antidote to the partisan news we receive and cites many facts calculated to make the disciple of "my country, right or wrong" uneasy if he is a genuine moral being.

NICARAGUA AND THE UNITED STATES—1909-1927 by Isaac J. Cox, 187 pages, 304 World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston.

A complete, well documented historical account of our relations with Nicaragua during this troubled period.

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CURRENT INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, by *Manley O. Hudson* (149 pages, Calcutta University, \$1.25).

Three lectures by one of the leading authorities upon the League of Nations, summarizing the movement toward increasing international cooperation.

PEACE PAMPHLETS (Vol. 10, 1927 Issues, 937 pages, \$1.00) World Peace Foundations, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. Invaluable factual studies on current international issues.



Professor Jerome Davis, of Yale, has edited a number of essays the focal point in which is the application of Christian ethics to vital social problems. Two volumes of this kind are published by The Century Company. One is "BUSINESS AND THE CHURCH" (383 pages, \$2.50), and the other "CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL ADVENTURING" (373 pages, \$2.50). In the first volume twenty-two leaders of business and labor give their views on how best the church and business can work together to better the life of the man in industry. Among the business contributors are Henry Ford, Roger Babson, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Arthur Nash, Henry Dennison and William P. Hapgood. On labor's side are such leaders as William Green and Albert Coyle; and on the students' side, such authorities as Whiting Williams, John Calder and Professor Davis himself. In "CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL ADVENTURING" the symposium is contributed by men like Senator Borah, Professor Graham Taylor, Dr. Richard C.

Cabot, Bishop McConnell, Professor Steiner and Harry Emerson Fosdick. Each author endeavors to concretize his ideas and to suggest some way of getting them put over. War, prohibition, immigration, industry, the emigrant, juvenile delinquency, civic righteousness, and many other themes are treated, each by an expert in his line. These books are made especially valuable through bringing the minds of leaders to focus from various angles upon the common problems.

### *Know Russia*

The Vanguard Press has performed an invaluable service for those unafraid of facts in its "Studies of Soviet Russia." Professor Jerome Davis of Yale edits them. He is thoroughly equipped by residence in Russia to supervise the writing of such a series. They are "designed to meet the need for reliable, accurate information on the major aspects of present day Russia." He says, "No matter what our conviction, we have to admit that the Bolsheviks are hammering out a startling new mechanism in the field of political control," and "considering the vast territory affected, the radical changes inaugurated and the influence which has been and still is being exerted on international relations, there is probably no greater event in modern history, whether for good or evil." These volumes run about two hundred pages each, are well bound and well written, each by an expert in his particular field. They sell for 50 cents each and the titles are as follows:

"HOW THE SOVIETS WORK," by *H. N. Brailsford*.

"THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE SOVIET UNION," by *Scott Nearing and Jack Hardy*.

"SOVIET TRADE UNIONS," by *Robert W. Dunn*.

"WOMAN IN SOVIET RUSSIA," by *Jessica Smith*.

"VILLAGE LIFE UNDER THE SOVIETS," by *Karl Borders*.

"THE NEW SCHOOLS OF NEW RUSSIA," by *Lucy L. W. Wilson*.

"HEALTH WORK IN SOVIET RUSSIA," by *Anna J. Haines*.

"RELIGION UNDER THE SOVIETS," by *Julius F. Hecker*.

"CIVIL LIBERTIES IN RUSSIA," by *Roger Baldwin*.

"THE JEWS AND NATIONAL MINORITIES IN RUSSIA," by *Avraham Yarmolinsky*.

"SOVIET RUSSIA AND HER NEIGHBORS," by *R. Page Arnott*.

"ART AND CULTURE IN SOVIET RUSSIA," by *Joseph Freeman* and others.



### *The Reference Shelf*

The H. W. Wilson Co. (958 University Ave., New York City) publishes a series of small books the total of which is now about forty volumes, giving the facts and cogent arguments pro and con upon vital issues of the day. They run from 80 to 150 pages per volume and are sold at 90 cents. Seven volumes are sent us for notice, viz.:

"THE FIVE DAY WEEK."

"AGRICULTURE AND THE TARIFF."

"POWER OF CONGRESS TO NULLIFY SUPREME COURT DECISION."

"FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION."

"GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF COAL INDUSTRY."

"OUTLAWING THE PISTOL."

"SPECIAL LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN."

They give the reader about all he needs to know upon the subject presented in order to be intelligent and to speak authoritatively.

### HAND

### BOOKS

The same publishers issue a series of handbooks which are larger and more exhaustive, running from three to five hundred pages per volume, and costing from \$2.00 to \$2.40 apiece. In each is a selection of concise information representing varying viewpoints. Some two dozen volumes have already been issued, five of which are sent us for notice, viz.:

"SOCIAL INSURANCE," by *Julia E. Johnson*.

"UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE," by *Allen D. Forsberg*.

"OLD AGE PENSIONS," by *Lamar T. Beman*.

"COMMERCIAL ARBITRATION," by *Daniel Bloomfield*.

"BIRTH CONTROL," by *Julia E. Johnson*.

In these volumes the minister and other molders of public opinion are afforded the means to make themselves wise on vital social and economic issues demanding at their hands understanding and constructive ethical treatment. They are exhaustive, clearly written, authoritative and non-partizan-source-books, not propaganda.



## *Labor Sunday Message*

(Prepared by the Commission on the Church and Social Service, of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, for use on Labor Sunday, September 2, 1928.)

Dreams of a better social order can no longer be dismissed as the impracticable objectives of sentimentalists. Science appears upon the scene as the hand-maid of religion. For science has already accomplished the impossible. By its knowledge of law it has subdued the natural order to the will of man. Man flies, he speaks through space, he draws electric power from the sky. By the aid of science we now do those things which previous generations put down as the foolish dreams of impractical men. There is every reason to believe that science can now adopt social ideals as specifications of a great task to be accomplished for humanity and proceed by the scientific method to assist in evolving a new industrial order which shall be increasingly characterized by righteousness and peace.

A score of years ago the churches of this country expressed the ideals of religion in their bearing on social and industrial relations. The abolition of child labor; protective regulations for women in industry; the abatement and prevention of poverty; the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery and occupational diseases and the hardship of enforced unemployment; suitable provision for old age; the

right of employes and employers alike to organize; adequate means of arbitration and conciliation in industrial disputes; the gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point; a living wage as a minimum in every industry and the highest wage that each industry can afford; a new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property; and the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised—these are the industrial ideals for which the churches stand.

Certain phases of the industrial problem press for immediate attention. The past year has seen a serious condition of unemployment. The situation has been not less but more challenging because of a condition of prosperity for many while a very large number of men were out of work. The Department of Labor has estimated that there were nearly two million fewer persons employed in January of this year than in January, 1925. Since the socalled normal unemployment is not less than one million, this government estimate means that at least three million workers must have been unemployed during the past winter. Such a condition is economically unsound and intolerable from the point of view of Christian brotherhood. Let the forces of religion vigorously renew their efforts so to inspire our technicians, and so to impress upon industrial leaders and when necessary upon government the demand for solutions for unemployment, that wise and effective measures may be worked out to remove this evil from our economic life.

The coincidence of unemployment and the rapidly advancing productive power of the nation due to the increased use of machinery, new power resources, scientific management, and the growing efficiency of labor suggest the possibility of a further shortening of hours and of a five-day-week in certain industries. Churches and social agencies must be prepared to do their part in providing for the increasing leisure time for all as hours of work are shortened. We have learned to view with confidence the ability of the work-

ers, if opportunities are provided, to make as good use of their leisure time as any other social group.

It is of basic importance in the approach, not only to these problems of hours and unemployment, but to all matters which touch intimately the lives of the workers, that the right of collective bargaining shall be recognized as fundamental. Representation of all the people concerned in a common undertaking, which is the American principle of government, is the only sound and scientific method of adjusting labor relations and of working out permanent solutions of industrial problems. We view with satisfaction the forward-looking offers of the American Federation of Labor and other unions to cooperate with management in an effort to eliminate waste from industry, to increase production and to promote efficiency in the service of the public. An engineering approach to industrial problems by the labor unions in practical cooperation with management holds a significant promise of orderly and constructive progress.

It must not be forgotten that the churches are also employers of labor and that as such they are under the same moral obligations as other employers to operate on Christian principles in their relations with those whom they employ. Indeed, they are under greater obligations because of the position they assume as teachers of ethics and religion. The churches must ask themselves not only whether the salaries of ministers, missionaries and church workers are fixed on a brotherly basis, but also whether, in the business enterprises of their boards and publication agencies, conditions of employment, wages, hours and control are in accord with an enlightened Christian conscience. Some labor leaders have not been interested in the liberal pronouncements of the churches because of evasions by the churches themselves of the practical issues involved. A prominent church official has said: "I am about ready to ask my communion either to practice some of its liberal pronouncements or to repeal them."

We, therefore, urge both the religious and secular forces of the nation to renew their faith in the social

ideals of the churches as practicable objectives for American life. We suggest to all concerned in industry that they approach the solution of labor problems in a more scientific and cooperative spirit, assured of the possibility of hitherto unattainable social progress. We call upon capital, labor and the public to move forward with good will, courage and intelligence into a new and better day.

(This message is to be released to the public press on July 28th. Send to Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22nd St., New York City, for printed copies. Price, 2 cents per copy; 60 cents per hundred.)



### *By the Way*

#### **"GENERAL" COXEY WINS AT LAST**

Thirty-four years ago Jacob S. Coxey, of Massillon, Ohio, dubbed "general" of a ragamuffin army, led his regiment of unemployed across the country to Washington. He sought to make a demonstration on the steps of the national capitol, but his "army" was disbanded and not allowed to present their petition. A few days ago the sub-committee of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives, put their O. K. upon the bill "General" Coxey presented at that time and which he has brought back each of the thirty-four years since. It proposes to authorize the issuance of treasury bonds to be loaned without interest to municipalities which will use the money in the construction of public works as a means of employing the unemployed. The loan would be paid back in twenty-five equal annual installments by the municipality, which would use it to promote public building whenever unemployment increases. The expense to the federal government would be very small because cash balances practically always on hand could be used. The principle would be the same as that of the federal reserve, which raises and lowers discount to keep credit stabilized and prevent panics. It would increase public employment when private employment

grows less, and decrease it as private employment increases. If the method is good in the world of finance, it ought to be even better in the world of humanity.

#### PERSONAL LIBERTY,

#### BEEF AND BOOZE

When Clarence Darrow and other wet leaders rave about infringements upon personal liberty through the enactment of laws prohibiting the liquor traffic, we should turn back to the Congressional Record of some twenty years ago, after Upton Sinclair in his book, "The Jungle," had exposed the unspeakable sanitary conditions in the meat-packing industry of Chicago. Senator Aldrich, at that time one of the greatest political leaders in Congress, denounced proposed legislation that would give the federal government a right to inspect meats and compel sanitary precautions in the meat-packing business, saying with great passion: "Is there anything in the existing condition that makes it the duty of Congress to put the liberty of all the people of the United States in jeopardy? Are we going to take up the question as to what a man shall eat and what a man shall drink, and put him under severe penalties if he is eating or drinking something different from what the chemists of the agricultural department think desirable?" Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, was, next to Aldrich, perhaps the most powerful political figure at that time, and he joined the Rhode Island champion of personal liberty in his denunciation of the proposed legislation. The principle involved in the prohibition of the liquor traffic is the same. Beverage alcohol is a poison, an enemy of health, of law and order, of economy and every type of social welfare. Selling a beverage poison is no more legitimate than selling a food poison. The men who sold diseased and chemically recovered rotten meat were no worse than the men who sell alcoholic poison.

#### AMERICA MAY FORGET,

#### JAPAN CANNOT

Americans may forget the immigration issue with Japan. We may call it a "closed incident", but Japan does not. Dr. Fujisawa, a lecturer before the Wil-

liamstown Institute of Politics, says: "If any one says that the immigration issue is a closed incident, it is merely an instance of wish being father of thought. I wish to state emphatically that our keeping silence and not holding humiliation days should not be interpreted as meaning that we too had dropped the matter. Nothing is settled unless it is settled right. However, the remedy can only come from the American side. We can do nothing in this matter. Neither have we the slightest intention of doing anything. Patiently we wait for the day, however distant, when the sense of right, justice and fair play of the overwhelmingly large majority of the American people will be called into full play."

#### TRIED FOR LABOR

#### SYMPATHIES

Wesley Maurer and Walter Ludwig, two fine young teachers and Christian leaders have been discharged from the faculty of Ohio University at Athens, Ohio, on account of their activity on behalf of the striking miners of the Hocking Valley coal region in the midst of which this university is located. Ludwig was "framed" by a small group of anti-union business men on the charge that he had not properly reported his auto for taxation; he was arrested and compelled to lie in jail several hours. The university disposed of him by abolishing his position. Maurer taught journalism and worked on a local daily. The newspaper manager let him out because he did not "articulate well with the community", i. e. with the Chamber of Commerce; the university let him out because the newspaper had done so. Governor Donahey is appointing a committee to investigate both cases. A dean in the state university at Columbus is reported to be on leave on a salary of \$15,000 working for the public utilities companies, whose methods of influencing public opinion are now being revealed by the Federal Trades Commission. We venture to guess that he will not be discharged. Moral: work for the trust and not for the workingmen if you want to be sure of your job.

## **LABOR AND THE RED CROSS**

The Red Cross refuses to give aid to the women and children of the starving miners. Every third child in the western Pennsylvania coal field is under-nourished. The Kansas State Federation of Labor recently passed the following resolution:

"Whereas investigation has shown that not only poverty but starvation stalks abroad among these loyal Americans (the miners) battling for the preservation of their freedom, and women and little children are suffering untold privation and want; and

"Whereas the Federal Council of Churches and practically all other churches and charitable organizations have helped to relieve the hunger and suffering among these people; and

"Whereas the Red Cross, claiming to be an organization of the people—the world mother—has chosen to accept the dictates of the employers and refuse succor—even the miners have given to the Red Cross until it hurt; therefore be it

"Resolved that this convention go on record as declaring that the Red Cross has become an agency of oppressive capital and is no longer deserving of recognition by the laboring people of America."

## **PROHIBIT THE CONCEALABLE GUN**

Police Commissioner Daugherty of New York City once said: "A federal law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of revolvers and pistols would diminish crime seventy per cent in the United States." Law abiding people do not wish to carry dangerous firearms. Gasoline stations are more subject to banditry than any other form of business, but the companies universally forbid their salesmen to keep firearms. This is the counsel of prudence. The chance to shoot it out is both small and dangerous. The concealable firearm should be as effectively prohibited as are the free use of death-dealing poisons. They belong to the vigilante age of an undeveloped society, without the

instruments of law and order. If the American people were not still in a state of pioneer mindedness, they would enact a federal law prohibiting the possession of concealable firearms except to officers sworn to enforce the laws. Even this is not considered necessary in England, where the very efficient "Bobby" is not allowed to carry a revolver. Abolish concealable firearms, both from trade and from the private possession of individuals, disarm the thug, the bandit and the criminal class, and this nation would within ten years cease to be the most violent in civilization.



### *In the Magazines*

DESTITUTION IN WALES. F. Yeats Brown, *The Spectator*. (London Moderate Conservative Weekly.) Reprinted in *The Living Age*, April 1. Account by a conservative of thousands of formerly clean and self-respecting miners' families in which the fathers, hungry for work, are turning communist; grown boys with no idea of living except "on the dole," marrying and starting families; and the overworked mothers losing heart, hope and health.

CROESUS IN COURT—CAN A RICH MAN BE CONVICTED? *The Forum*, May. "Yes," says Arthur Train. "No," says Upton Sinclair.

THE AMERICAN UPLIFT IN HAITI. *The Crisis*, May. The first installment of a series in which Clement Wood attempts to throw light on the armed Uplift functioning in Haiti, in the name of the United States Government.

MISS SOUMAY TCHENG, OF SHANGHAI. Anna Louise Strong. *The Woman's Press*, May. Account of a Chinese woman who helps to manage a Province, a Court and a Woman's Movement.

DRIVING WHEELS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS. Mary Ross in *The Survey*, June 15. A report of the fifty-fifth Conference of Social Work in Memphis, week of May 2. These are "some of the patterns traced in the big wheel." Professor Howard E. Jensen: "Through all

modern science . . . . there runs a decreasing emphasis upon struggle, conflict, hostility, competition and an increasing emphasis upon adjustment, organization, integration, co-operation, mutual aid."

Jesse O. Thomas, field secretary of the National Urban League: "The Negro's opportunities in industry have decreased in the past twelve or eighteen months." He suggests, toward a solution: More thought among white people about the ultimate results of such a policy of dispossession; "group economy" by Negroes themselves in enterprises providing employment for Negroes; more regard by them for the farm movement; more attention given by them to efficiency and regularity in employment.

On unemployment in general. Sherman C. Kingsley, president of the National Conference of Social Work: There should be wisdom and concern on the part of social engineers, business men, statisticians, and financiers sufficient to adjust the social and industrial affairs of our country so as to mitigate the periodic distress. Caroline Bedford of the St. Louis Provident Association: Some means must be devised for throwing on the consumer the support of employable idle men and women. John B. Andrews, of the American Association for Labor Legislation: There must necessarily be a certain amount of unemployment in American industry, just as a certain amount of capital must be held in idle reserve. But the business man or industry in the mass must supply this capital and pay for its use, and on the same principle it should bear the cost of the labor reserve and not expect idle men to support themselves without wages nor society to support them through giving relief. That is, the principle of insurance applied to unemployment. As immediate relief, he suggests: Comprehensive system of government labor exchanges; attempt by employers to smooth out curves of employment as Henry Dennison did, going through the depression of 1921 with 98 per cent of his force at their benches; quick encouragement by Congress by giving emphasis preferably at such times

of depression to public works, roads and buildings. Dr. John A. Lapp suggested: A living wage; stabilization of the economic order so that society would give all men a chance to earn a living; stabilization of the social order through social insurance of the major hazards of accident, sickness, old age, unemployment, bank deposits; measures which tend to safeguard health and prevent disease, protect property, promote thrift, prevent immorality and vice from flourishing unchecked.

Clifford R. Shaw, of the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago: Delinquency among boys corresponds closely to other evidences of social maladjustment, broken families, density of population, or large percentage of aliens or foreign born, waning neighborhoods, etc.

Julia Lathrop, chief of the Federal Children's Bureau: Described the slow but sure process of understanding and education which the League of Nations is fostering for the children, and made a special plea for interest in the American nations to the south of us.

Rabbi William H. Fineshriber, of Philadelphia: Pictured international-mindedness "the inevitable next step in social evolution." The first step has been taken in the organization of a League of Nations.



President Calles favors prohibition and the C. R. O. M., the Mexican federation of labor at each annual convention, reiterates its stand for national prohibition, to be progressively obtained.

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## *Note and Comment*

In the recent national convention held in Chattanooga, the southern Baptists adopted a resolution, with only a few dissenting votes, pledging themselves to vote for no presidential candidate who is wet and to oppose with all their moral power any wet candidate nominated. Dr. A. J. Barton said, "We will not let the wets interpret our church principles for us. We oppose no man. We merely serve notice to all parties that we will oppose all wets."



The lawyers of Pueblo, Colorado, have organized a "legal clinic". This clinic will consider "all complaints as to the administration of justice either in civil or criminal cases, and endeavor to alleviate improper conditions even to the extent of sponsoring legislation." Members pledge themselves to accept charity cases as allocated to them and the association will promote a plan to have a "public defender" appointed who will defend those unable to employ their own attorney just as the public prosecutor defends the interest of the public.



American turn-over in international business reached last year a stupendous sum of eighteen billion two hundred million dollars. Our underwriting in foreign lands reached one billion six hundred million dollars. Before these stupendous facts all talk of isolation becomes irrational.



We commend to the D. A. R. and other valiant super-patriots the Japanese method of censoring "dangerous thoughts". The task of discovering dangerous thoughts is delegated to the Department of National Education, and recently a round-up of students suspected of thinking such things revealed also that their professors were thinking dangerously. It seems that the past several years of effort to suppress dangerous thoughts has greatly increased dangerous thinking in Japan.

After touring the capitals of Europe, the Ameer of Afghanistan stopped at Angora on his return home and made a treaty for enduring peace and mutual helpfulness with Turkey, including a military alliance and a provision that Turkish officers will train the Afghanistan army. Like treaties are being negotiated, or have been concluded, between both these countries and Persia, thus cementing a new bond between the three newly emancipated Islamic governments.



Under the leadership of Dr. W. S. Keller, a successful physician, a group of sixteen Episcopal students for the ministry will spend the summer in Cincinnati working under the direction of various social welfare organizations. They will meet each evening to discuss experiences and the problems growing out of them in relationship to their ministry. Expert guidance both in social work and in the work of the church will be given. The minister of the gospel will never minister in the most effective way until he knows how to do social case work and understands sociology as well as he does theology.



In their recent national conference, the association of Community Church Workers decided to put a secretary in the field to answer the many requests coming from over-churched communities for counsel in getting together to give the community a going church. R. J. Hargreaves, a Baptist minister, was elected secretary. O. F. Jordan will continue as editor of the Community Churchman. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has subscribed for this excellent journal for fifteen hundred farm leaders. The community church movement is now officially recognized by both the Home Missions Council and the Federal Council of Churches. It offers the only practical answer yet found for the over-churched rural and small village community and its growth is one of the religious phenomena of our times. More than 1500 community churches have come into being since the Great War.

The old saying that things have to get just so bad before they can be bettered, worked out in Indianapolis, where a commission form of government was voted after revelations that gave the mayor a prison sentence and a majority of the aldermen fines for malfeasance of office. A strong movement is now on in Chicago, looking toward a city manager charter and thirty-four of the forty-two aldermen have expressed themselves as favorable to the movement.

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The Swedish parliament has enacted a compulsory industrial arbitration law. It provides first for organization on both sides and collective bargaining, and then for the arbitration of differences in a special court. Labor opposed the bill. Experience in Australasia does not give great hope that compulsory arbitration can be made successful. The word "compulsion" does not well befit where contests are so unequal as between propertyless working men on one side and propertied employers on the other.

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A project has been initiated for the re-afforestation of fourteen million acres in the Missouri Ozarks. For fifty years lumber has been taken out but few new trees have been planted on the rocky hillsides that will grow little else.

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The ministry of justice in Japan is inaugurating a nation-wide program for the rehabilitation of convicts through vocational education, shortened working hours, building up of physical health and instruction in current events in the world outside to which it is hoped they will go as better citizens. "A mere punishment of criminals by imposing on them isolation and hard labor will not accomplish the real aim of prison service. We will try to return them to society both physically and mentally better equipped for citizenship," says an official.

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"Here around Hull House we used to watch whiskey and beer being left at saloons by the drayload. The poverty and suffering from drink were appalling. There is such a difference now that it seems like another world." —Jane Addams.

## *Walter Rauschenbusch's Last Will and Testament*

Walter Rauschenbusch left us ten years ago. His "Christianity and the Social Crisis" is the greatest book yet written on the Social Gospel. His "Prayers for the Social Awakening" are classics of devotion. Though dead, he still speaks to thousands in prophetic voice. His parting message was characteristic of his great spirit.

"I leave my love to those of my friends whose souls have never grown dark against me. I forgive the others and hate no man. For my many errors and weaknesses I hope to be forgiven by my fellows.

"I have long prayed God not to let me be stranded in lonesome and useless old age; if that is the meaning of my present illness, I shall take it as a loving mercy.

"Since 1914 the world is full of hate, and I cannot expect to be happy again. I had hoped to write several books which have been in my mind, but doubtless others can do it better.

"The only pang is to part from my loved ones and to be no longer able to stand by and smooth their way. For the rest I go gladly for I have carried a heavy handicap for 30 years and have worked hard."



"Be ashamed to die before you have won some victory for humanity." The motto of Antioch College.



The Chinese say of such as Mussolini, "He is riding a tiger."



"Repression is the seed of revolution." Woodrow Wilson.